1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

776 Besides his general function as supervisor of the course of things on
●775 earth, The-One-on-High is particularly concerned in birth. He sends the souls
843 of the new-born into the wombs of their mothers. The souls (uyi'ĕit or uyi'rit) are hung up in the house of the deity on posts and beams. The duration of the earthly life of each soul is marked beforehand on thongs tied to them. A long strap indicates longevity; a short one, the early death of the child to be born. After death the human soul returns to The-One-on-High, who after some time sends it into a relative of its former owner, to be re-born. A drawing (Fig. 40) made by the Koryak Yulta of the village of Kamenskoye serves to illustrate the tale in which is described how the souls are hanging in the deity's house.

771, Two children of the Supreme Being are mentioned by name, — his son
83:, Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'hala'n) or Cloud-Maker (Ta''yañ), and his daughter
78:2 Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). Cloud-Man figures as the protector of young couples. Young men beat the drum, and appeal to him to turn to them the "mind" or heart of the girl, and *vice versa*. On the right side of a picture drawn by the above-mentioned Koryak (see Fig. 41) a girl is represented beating the drum in order to attract to herself the heart of a young man. The sounds of the drum reach the ears of Cloud-Man, who draws a line connecting the affections of the two young people. In one tale[1] Fog-Man beats the drum to attract the heart of Big-Raven's daughter. Cloud-Man causes Big-Raven to conceive the thought of marrying Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to her brother, and thus induces Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to flee to Fog-Man. For his mediation in love-matters Cloud-Man gets a sacrificial reindeer from the bridegroom after the marriage has taken place. In another tale[2] Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), after his marriage, fails to follow this custom, and his bride ails and wastes away until he does his duty toward Cloud-Man.

773 The Supreme Being plays no active part in mythology, at least not in
77, the myths collected by me; but there are numerous tales relating to Cloud-
821 Man's marriage with Big-Raven's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and to Cloud-Woman becoming Eme'mqut's wife. On such occasions, Big-Raven and his family ascend to heaven to visit with his divine father-in-law: and Cloud-Man, with his sister and other inhabitants of heaven, come down to Big-Raven's settlement to return his visit.

Only one tale[3] relating to The-Master-on-High, and containing coarse details, can be compared with the tales relating to Big-Raven. In order to cause rain on earth, Universe (Ñai'ñmen) attaches his wife's vulva to a drum, which he beats with his penis: and the liquid which is squirted out from the vulva falls down on earth as rain. In order to put an end to the incessant rain, Big-Raven and his son Eme'mqut turn into ravens and fly up to heaven. They cause the deity and his wife to fall asleep, and carefully dry their privates

[1] Tale 66. [2] Tale 111. [3] Tale 9.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R'14 Koryak R'14

by the fire. On awakening, Universe is no longer able to produce rain by beating the drum, and thus it clears up on earth. It is interesting to note that this tale is told in order to put an end to rain or to a snow-storm. On the other hand, it must not be told in fine weather, lest it bring on rain or a storm. The tale was told to me during fine weather, and therefore a sacrifice to Universe had to be offered first. This was done by burning some fat, the idea being that the fire acts as an intermediary between the supplicant and Universe. However, I had to take upon myself the responsibility for the consequences.

MALEVOLENT BEINGS. — The first place among beings that are ill-disposed to mankind is occupied by the so-called kalau (*sing.* kala[1]), which correspond to the Chukchee kelet. The people of Paren call them also kalak or kamak; and among the Reindeer Koryak they are frequently called ñe'nvetičăm or ñi'nvit. However, the above-mentioned names for evil spirits are known among all the Koryak. The Koryak conception of their dual nature finds expression in their myths, and appeared clearly in conversation. The kala appears sometimes as an invisible being that kills people by supernatural or rather invisible means; and sometimes he appears as a common cannibal. His material and spiritual features are often intermingled.

The relations between the kalau and the Supreme Being were described to me by an old man named Yulta, from the village of Kamenskoye. At one time the kalau lived with The-Master-on-High in the upper world; but he quarrelled with them, and sent them down to our world. This resembles somewhat the biblical conception of the fallen angels. The official chief of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula used to tell me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to people when they do wrong, just as the Czar sends his Cossacks against those that are disobedient. Others told me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to the people that they may die, and that he may create other people. A similar story was told to me about Big-Raven. He sends the kalau down to the people to give them a chance to test the power of their incantations against diseases and death, which he had bequeathed to them. In one tale[2] the dead ancestors send the kalau from the underground world into the village of their descendants to punish the young people for playing games at night, and thus disturbing the rest of the old people.

According to Koryak ideas, the kalau constitute families, just like human beings, with an old man as the head of the family, his children, their wives, etc. I heard various accounts concerning the abode of the kalau, from which it may be concluded that several groups are distinguished, according to their place of residence.[3] Some live in the world under us. They have daytime

[1] See p. 21, Footnote 4.

[2] Tale 43.

[3] It is interesting to note, that, while the idea of evil spirits dwelling in the upper world is foreign to the Koryak mind, the Yakut subdivide their evil spirits (Abasyla'r), which correspond to the kalau, into upper (that is, heavenly), middle (earthly), and lower (or those of the underground world).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

VI. — BIRTH, DEATH, AND FUNERALS.

775 842 BIRTH. — Before a child is born, the Supreme Being sends into the mother's womb the soul (uyi'čit) of some deceased relative of the child to be born. The length of life of each soul is determined beforehand. Souls are hanging on the cross-beams of the house of The-One-on-High. The duration of the earthly life of the future possessor of the soul is marked by the strap which is attached to the soul's neck or thumb. The shorter the strap, the shorter will be the life of the new-born. A drawing made by the Koryak Yulta, already described (see Fig. 40, p. 93), illustrates the Koryak idea of souls hanging in the house of the Supreme Being.

851 553 774 787 As soon as a child is born, it is given the name of the dead relative whose soul has been reborn in it. The father of the new-born uses a divining-stone called Little-Grandmother (An·a'pel) to discover whose soul has entered the child. The divining-stone is hung by a string to a stick, the latter is lifted, and the stone begins to swing; or it is hung from a tripod made of small sticks. The father of the child enumerates the names of the deceased relatives on his and his wife's side. When the name of the relative whose soul has entered the child is mentioned, the divining-stone begins to swing quicker. Another way of determining the identity of the soul is by observation of the behavior of the child itself. A number of names are mentioned. If the child cries while a name is pronounced, it shows that it is not the name of the soul reborn in the child. When the proper name is pronounced, the child stops crying, or begins to smile. After the name has been given, the father takes the child in his arms, carries it out from the sleeping-tent into the house, and says to his people, "A relative has come" (Qaitu'mŏin ye'ti). On one occasion during our stay in the village of Kamenskoye, a child was named after the deceased father-in-law of Yulta's son. The latter lifted the child, and said to the mother, "Here, thy father has come!"

If a mistake is made in divining the identity of the soul which entered the new-born child, something will ail the child after it has been named. Then this mistake may be corrected, and its name is usually changed by means of repeated divination.

Neither I myself nor my wife was present at a confinement, nor did we witness the divining while the child was named.[1] What I am going to describe here is recorded from what the Koryak have told me.

[1] In every village, I made inquiries about pregnant women, asking them to call my wife when the confinement should take place, that she might become acquainted with the Koryak methods of midwifery; but the Koryak concealed all births from us. On two occasions women were confined in the villages where we were staying, but we learned of it only *post factum*.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

After confinement, the woman is regarded as unclean for a month. During this time she must not take off her shoes in a strange house, nor should she bare her feet in her own house in the presence of strangers. For a year following confinement, she is expected to observe the following food taboos. She must not partake of ringed seal, white whale, fresh fish, or raw thong-seal. She is forbidden to eat whale-meat in the fall, but may do so in the winter. She may eat the boiled meat of a thong-seal caught in the river, but not if it be caught in the sea. A woman, after confinement, is permitted to eat reindeer-meat in any shape or form. There is no doubt that these taboos are intended to prevent the unclean woman from coming in contact with animals that serve as the source of subsistence of the tribe; but it is a striking fact that the taboos are observed in reference to sea-animals only. Other taboos are for the protection of the child. Children in general, and the new-born in particular, are, more than grown-up people, subject to the danger of becoming the victims of the kalau. Children's souls are very shy and inexperienced. The least fright may cause them to leave the body, and, after they have once left, they are unable to find the entrance that leads back into the body. They are also apt to lose their way. Therefore during the entire winter the new-born child must not be taken out of the house, where it is under the protection of the family guardians. In case of absolute necessity, the mother must keep it in her bosom under her coat, and must not take it out when in a strange house. Only after the spring equinox may the child be taken out of the house in safety. The after-birth is put in a bag and hung on a pole some distance away from the village (Plate XII, Fig. 2, opp. p. 97).

DEATH. — As with all other primitive people, death does not appear to the Koryak as a natural process, — most people are killed by the kalau, — but it happens that the Supreme Being and other supernatural beings may bring about the death of man as a punishment for an infraction of a taboo, or for a failure to offer sacrifice. Shamans frequently inflict death upon men. On the other hand, there is a tradition according to which it was Big-Raven (Quikmn·a'qu) that caused people to die.

The soul (uyi'čit), or, to be more exact, the chief soul, of the man, frightened by the attack of the kalau upon it, deserts the body, and rises to the Supreme Being. According to some tales, the kala himself pulls the soul out of the human body, and sets it free to go off to the sky, in order to possess himself of the body or of the other souls of the deceased.

Though a man cannot live without a soul, there is apparently some other vital principle, or a secondary soul. I did not learn its name, and heard nothing definite relating to this accessory soul; but some vital principle[1] is

[1] Mr. Bogoras says of the Chukchee (Chukchee Materials, p. 17), that they have five or six souls (ure'rit). Many North American Indians believe that man has two or more souls, while the Yukaghir believe that he has three. As to the Yukaghir, I admit that the conception of these souls has been borrowed by them from the Yakut, with whom each of the three souls has a name of its own.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

774 761 implied in the words wuyi'vi ("breathing") and wu'yil-wu'yil ("shadow"). Furthermore, the demarcation between life and death is very ill defined. The dead body is believed not to be deprived of the ability to move. The deceased may arise, if he is not watched. On the Taigonos Peninsula, the Reindeer Koryak told me that a Koryak, by name Ei'gelin, died a few years ago. It so happened that everybody in the house went to sleep, then he arose. When the people awoke, and saw that he was standing, they stabbed him with their knives; but he merely laughed. Then they tried to club him, but were unable to kill him. They dragged him to the fire, but could not burn him. He walked from house to house, saying, "Here, I am leading Ei'gelin." Finally a Russian undertook to burn him. He was given reindeer and a sledge, then he cut Ei'gelin to pieces and carted them away to be burned.

775 The soul does not leave earth at once. The person may be dead, but his soul is soaring high above him. The soul resembles a small fire. It is outside of the body during illness. If the illness is slight, the soul keeps close above the patient; and if it is severe, it is higher up, and farther away from him. Powerful shamans are able to cause the soul to return, and thus restore to life a person that has died recently. The Koryak Yulta, from Kamenskoye, told me that his father had died twice. The first time he died at sunset. A shaman, summoned from the Livaty settlement, spent all night beating the drum; and toward sunrise Yulta's father revived. He lived for a long time after that. After his recovery he told the people that he had been walking all alone in the other world for a long time. Finally he beheld a house, and near it he saw his fellow-villager Qatče'pin. He asked him, "How didst thou get here?" and Qatče'pin replied, "I sold to the Russian chief two dogs that I had promised to offer to the Supreme Being. On account of this I died." It so happened that Qatče'pin died the same night; and when Yulta's father revived, wood was being piled up for burning Qatče'pin's body.

776 761 Often death is brought about by attacks of the kalau, and it is believed that the kalau cut their victims. It is not quite clear how this is believed to be done. On the one hand, the kala seems to eat human flesh in the most material way, tearing out pieces of flesh from live people, and devouring their internal organs. The Koryak say that he likes human liver particularly well. On the other hand, the body of the deceased, before it is burned, does not show any signs of having been touched by any one. According to the Chukchee conception, evil spirits steal the soul (uwi'rit) in order to eat it, and they fatten it before feasting on it.[1] We find this conception in a clearer form among the Yakut. The evil spirits eat the soul kut, one of the three souls of men.

775 The Koryak have also a double conception of the country of the shadows. While the soul rises to the Supreme Being, the deceased and his other soul,

[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 17.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

or his shadow, depart into the underground world of the shadows, — ancient people, people of former times (Peni'nelau). The entrance into this country is guarded by dogs. If a person beat his dogs during his life, he will not be admitted. These dog-guardians may be bribed, however. For this purpose, fish-fins are put into the mittens of the deceased, that they may give them to the dogs that guard the entrance of the world of the shades. The Peni'nelau live in the underground world in villages, just as human beings live on earth; and relatives live together in the same house. Every new-comer joins his own relatives. The inhabitants of the underground world take care of their relatives on earth by sending them animals, which they kill, and other kinds of food-supply; but they also punish them if they are displeased with them for one reason or another. Presents for dead relatives are put on the pyre when the body of a deceased person is burned. In Tale 43 it is stated that the deceased sent a kala to kill the inhabitants of a village because the young people used to play at night, and disturbed the old people.

As may be seen from many tales, the road leading from earth to the underground world seems to close soon after the passing of the dead. The deceased pass underground through the pyre, and the road closes behind them. In Tale 112 Big-Raven's (Quikinn-a'qu) daughter purposely permitted herself to be eaten by a cannibal in order to reach the country of the shades, and to bring back, before the road closed again, all the people that had been eaten by the cannibal.

The shadow of the dead, though not visible to all, is conceived of as an absolutely material double of the dead person. It is distinct from the body, of which only the bones are left if the person was eaten by the cannibal kala, or the ashes if the body was burned on the funeral pyre. In former times, communication between our world and the world of the dead was more frequent and less difficult than it is now. Men used to go down on purpose, or strayed there by accident, entering through a crevice in the ground, and came back again. At present, only shamans descend into the underground world.

In olden times, children killed their aged parents. This custom, which still prevails among the Chukchee, is now completely abandoned. In some places, even the recollection of this custom has disappeared. The Maritime Koryak, for instance, deny ever having done so. They insist that this custom prevailed only among the Reindeer Koryak.

The relatives take good care of a dying man. If he is able to eat, he is given the choicest pieces. If the agony lasts long, he is turned on his left side, because they think that thus he will die sooner. If there is another patient in the same house with the dying man, the soul of the former is tied, to prevent its joining the departing soul. For this purpose, the patient's neck is fastened to the bands of the sleeping-tent by means of a string; and the string is charmed so that it may detain the soul.

Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

764 and fuel provided quick enough, the body is burned on the same day that the person died; otherwise the burning takes place on the second or third day.

While the deceased remains in the house, the people keep awake. The women work on the funeral garments; and the men, in order to keep awake, [177] play cards. At the present time, card-playing, which was, of course, borrowed from the Russians, seems to be considered a necessary part of the formalities to be gone through with in the house of the deceased. The Reindeer Koryak play on the body of the deceased, entertaining him in this manner. While the dead person is in the house, he is considered as a member of the family, and the people try to make it appear as though nothing had happened. It is supposed that he is participating in the meals of the family and in card-playing. It is therefore forbidden to wail for the deceased before he has been taken out. The women weep softly, quietly wiping away their tears.

The deceased is dressed in the funeral garments just before he is taken out. The people put on the clothes in a peculiar manner, to indicate that the dressing of the dead is different from the dressing of living people. For instance, the left-hand mitten is put on the right hand, and *vice versa*. The cap is put on with its front backward. When hitching up the reindeer which carry the body to the pyre, the Reindeer Koryak put the collar over the right shoulder of the animal, while in ordinary driving it is put over the left shoulder. Before dressing the deceased, one of his nearest relatives — mother, husband, or wife — wipes his face with wet moss, without, however, looking at his face. I had a chance to witness personally the burning of a baby girl who had died soon after birth. After she was dressed, her grandmother took her in her arms and rocked her as though she were alive. Another woman, versed in incantations, waved over the child a little stick to which wool of young seals was tied. In this manner she was driving away the dogs that are believed to guard the entrance into the country of the shades. Then she put a fin of a dried fish into the tiny mitten to give to the guardian dogs. Thereupon she took a little forked alder-branch, charmed it, and gave it to the dead [175] child as a protector (ine'njula^{s}n) and guide on her way. A child may easily lose its way to the other world, and the guardian dogs of the other world are more dangerous to it than to a grown-up person.

The grandmother took the child out, carrying it in her arms; but while she was ascending the ladder, a pole was put down from above through the entrance, and placed alongside of the ladder. It is assumed to be the ladder which the dead child uses. This pole was drawn up while the grandmother was ascending the ladder, and thus they pretended to pull out the little girl.

If a grown person dies, a strap is tied under the arms of the body, which, supported by a relative who ascends the ladder, is drawn out together with the pole, which is supposed to serve the deceased as his ladder. The Reindeer Koryak do not carry out their dead through the usual door, but under the

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

764 year. Since during that period there had been an epidemic, and many people had died, many gifts were sent. This was the first burning after the epidemic 76c, was over, and every family made use of this opportunity of communicating with the country of the dead, and of sending something to a deceased relative. Every present was wrapped up separately in a piece of bright printed calico or red cloth, and charmed by the conjuror, who in her incantations enumerated for whom each gift was intended. The following articles were among the presents: sugar, tea, tobacco, larch-gum, beads (large and small), bread and biscuit that I had given them at their request, and reindeer meat and fat. Two agaric fungi were sent to one old man who had been very fond of agaric intoxication. No clothing was among the presents, and no fish or seal-meat, or anything connected with hunting at sea or with fishing in the river Apparently the Koryak, like the Eskimo, believe that everything relating to the dead must be kept away from the sea-mammals. After the presents had been given, the women went away, and the men started a fire a little aside from the wood-pile, and with it lighted the pyre in several places. The first fire-brand was placed by the official chief of the settlement (see Plate XIII, Fig. 1).

764 When the clothes were burned, and the child's head appeared, her grand-father took a pole, and, thrusting it into the body, said, "Of yonder magpie pricked" (A'ñaļan vakı'tha tı'npınen); or, in a free translation, "This is the magpie of the underworld, which pricked." He imitated the actions of the magpie of the world of the dead, in order to inform the deceased that she was passing to another world, and must not return to the house. The further actions of the dead girl's grandfather had the same end in view. When the flames of the pyre were dying away, he broke some twigs from the alder and willow bushes that were growing near by, and strewed them around the pyre. These twigs represented a dense forest which was supposed to surround the burning-place. We left the place while the pyre was still burning. Before leaving, the grandfather went around the pyre, first from right to left, and then from left to right, in order to so obscure his tracks that the deceased would not be able to follow him. Then, stepping away from the pyre toward the houses, he drew with his stick a line on the snow, jumped across it, and shook himself. The others followed his example. The line was supposed to represent a river which separated the village from the burning-place.

● 775 All these actions are identical with episodes in the tales of the "magic 171 flight." After being taken out of the house, the deceased is apparently regarded as a spirit hostile to the living.

The question why and how dead persons become dangerous to those to whom they were near and dear in life, is one of the most difficult ones in ethnology. Fear of the dead is known among all peoples. I did not hear among the Koryak any tales of a direct transformation of a dead person into an evil spirit or kala; but the Chukchee have such tales, and they may also

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

775 171 be found among both North American and Siberian tribes, and in many other parts of the world. The Tupilaq[1] of the Eskimo, and the ghosts of the Indians, are equally pernicious to men. The Yakut,[2] Buryat,[3] Altaians,[4] and Mongol[5] hold similar ideas. They believe that souls of certain dead ones turn into evil spirits, which are particularly dangerous to the relatives of the deceased. Such souls are called yör by the Yakut, dakhu'l by the Buryat, usyu't by the Altaians, and evil oñon by the Mongol.

764 The Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Ridge dissect bodies before burning them, in order to find out what ailed them. Apparently this custom was in vogue among other Koryak as well. The Chukchee proceed in the same manner. The usage prevailing in some places, — for instance, among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula and the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, — of piercing the abdomen of the corpse with a knife when it is lying on the pyre, and of stuffing the wound with some rags, in cases where death was caused by some internal disease, is to be regarded as a survival of this custom. According to the explanation of the Koryak, this is done for the purpose of guarding the child, which later on receives the soul and the name of the deceased, against the disease of which the departed died.

Immediately after the body has been taken out of the house, the bedding of the deceased is removed, and the place of the dead one is taken by some other inhabitant of the house. For ten days his place in the house must never remain empty, that the kalau may believe they were not successful in their "hunt" among the inmates of the house. The person who occupies the place of the deceased is called by the name of the family guardians, Ine'njula'n. If he leaves the house, somebody else takes his place. In some villages a bundle of grass which has been formed into the shape of a human body, and represents Ine'njula'n, is put in the place of the deceased.

765 Ten days after a death, the Maritime Koryak beat the drum, thus expressing their grief for the deceased. The Reindeer Koryak beat the drum immediately after the funeral. I was told in Kamenskoye that all the inmates of the house where a death occurred, and brothers of the deceased, although living in other houses, wear for ten days after the burning charm bracelets or necklaces braided of sinew-thread and hare's hair as guardians against the spirit of the dead.

769 Annual obits for the dead are still observed by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains. They consist in the slaughtering of reindeer in honor of the dead, and the piling-up of the antlers on their "graves;" that is, on the burning-places of their relatives. The antlers represent the reindeer-herds

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[1] Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 591; and Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 131.
[2] Troshchansky, pp. 82-87; Sieroszewsky, p. 622; Jochelson, Wandering Tribes, p. 34.
[3] Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 24.
[4] Potanin, IV, p. 130.
[5] Mikhailovsky, Shamanism, p. 17.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Images of ancestor spirits.
1–having "descendants"; 2–one without living "descendants."

To placate the nin'vits, the Koryaks

sacrificed to them. Thus, a hunter passing by a place considered to be inhabited by a nin'vit' had to make a sacrifice of a pinch of tobacco or several cartridges. The places inhabited by nin'vit's were very numerous; they were cliffs of unusual formation, hot springs or waterfalls, places where a corpse had been burned or a hunter perished, the ruins of a dwelling, abandoned after the death of one of its inhabitants, and so forth. Koryak ideas about the dead were ambivalent. They held that after death a person became a nin'vit', that is, a harmful, hostile being. At the same time, there was the notion of ancestors who lived somewhere underground or in the sky and helped their descendants, sending them success in the hunt, protecting their herds, etc. Ancestor images were made of wood. They were small, crudely carved wooden figures (kalak), representing a sitting or, more rarely, a standing person, with a flat face, without a nose, with two hollows in the place of eyes and a rather large hollow to indicate the mouth. During family celebrations the mouth-hole was filled with fat or fat meat. Every family had whole bundles of kalaks; every Koryak had his own kalak—his personal guardian.

The Koryaks believed that the shaman had power over nin'vit's. The shaman communicated with nin'vit's in total darkness; the entrance to the dwelling was carefully closed, the smoke vent was stopped up with a bundle of grass, the hearth fire was put out. The shaman struck his tambourine, cried out fragmentary words and phrases, danced and sang.

The shaman's actions were usually stimulated by intoxication from the fly-agaric eaten beforehand. When he tired, the shaman fell asleep. The Koryaks believed that the "prophetic fly-agaric" led him into the next world and arranged meetings with dead kinsmen, from whom the shaman obtained the necessary instructions. On awakening from his long sleep, the shaman related his visions to the people around him.

The Koryak shaman did not have any special dress. He performed his rituals in the usual clothing, which differed from the rest only in the large number of tags and disks of skin or beads attached to it. Some shamans made slight changes in their dress during the ritual performance, such as wearing a man's boot on one foot, and a woman's on the other. The tambourine was narrow-rimmed.

In addition to professional shamanism, the Koryaks also practiced family shamanism, predominantly in the hands of women. This was closely bound to the cult of the family hearth. Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination. For this purpose, a stone in a leather pouch was suspended from a small tripod. The eldest member of the family

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776 SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship 789
Religious practices 78

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R14

II. — SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.

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THE TRANSFORMER OF THE WORLD AND THE ANCESTOR OF THE KORYAK. — Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu, or Kutkinn·a'ku) is looked upon by the Koryak as the founder of the world. The termination-n·aku is the augmentative form of the mythical name of the raven (Ku'tqi, Qui'kty, Ku'skil, or Qui'kil[1]). In some myths he is designated as Raven-Big-Qui'kil (Va'lvam-Quikinn·a'qu). The Kamchadal call him Kutq.[2] Krasheninnikoff writes this word Ku'tkhu (Russian, Ку'тху);[3] and Steller, Ku'tka or Kutga.[4] The Chukchee call him Ku'rkil.[5]

The Maritime Koryak of the western shore of Penshina Bay call Big-Raven also Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu[6]), as may be seen from the myths recorded at the villages of Itkana, Kuel, and Paren; while the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula call him Creator (Tenanto'mwan), as is evidenced by the myths recorded on the Taigonos Peninsula. The last two names, however, Ačičen·a'qu and Tenanto'mwan, are well known to the Koryak of other localities. The identity of Creator with Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) and with Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu) is also recognized by the Taigonos Koryak, in some of whose tales the last two names are also found. On the other hand, we find in texts recorded in other localities, sometimes the name Big-Raven, then Creator or Big-Grandfather; and sometimes in the same tale we meet with two names.[7]

It may be pointed out here that the Chukchee make a distinction between Raven (Ku'rkil) and Creator. The former appears as a companion and assistant of Creator when creating the world. The latter is considered as a benevolent deity of an indefinite character, living on the zenith, and is identified with another benevolent deity, Outer-One, World[8] (Ña'ĭñinen; Chukchee, Ña'rĭnen), which, as will be seen farther on, is considered by the Koryak to be one of the names for the Supreme Being.[9]

In one of the Chukchee myths related by Mr. Bogoras,[9] "Creator" himself turns into a raven and ascends to heaven, in order to get reindeer for men from the Supreme Being; but this myth looks very much like an adaptation from the Koryak. Mr. Bogoras states, however, that in shamanistic incantations, Raven is sometimes called "the outer garment of the Creator."[10] This passage is in full accord with the Koryak conception of the Creator, or the Big-Raven, who turns into a raven when putting on a raven's coat.

[1] In ordinary language the word for "raven" is va'lvz. The names for Big-Raven and other mythical beings are written here as pronounced in the various Koryak dialects.
[2] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 637. [3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 100. [4] Steller, p. 253.
[5] Ačičen, "grandfather;" — n·aqu, augmentative form. [6] Tales 6, 49, 125.
[7] Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 30; Anthropologist, p. 587; Chukchee Materials, p. viii.
[8] See p. 24. [9] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 168 (Tale 37).
[10] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 640.

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All the tales about Big-Raven belong to the cycle of raven myths which are popular on the American as well as on the Asiatic shores of the North Pacific Ocean. But while the Ku'rkil of the Chukchee, and the Raven of the North American Indians, play a part only in their mythology, particularly in the myths relating to the creation of the world, and have no connection with religious observances, Big-Raven (Quikinn-a'qu) plays an important part in the religious observances of the Koryak. Steller calls the Kamchadal Ku'tka "the greatest deity of the Kamchadal, who created the world and every living being."[1] Like the heroes of the other raven myths, Big-Raven of the Koryak appears merely as the transformer of the world. Everything in the world had existed before he appeared. His creative activity consisted in revealing things heretofore concealed, and turning some things into others; and, since everything in nature is regarded by the Koryak as animated, he only changed the form of the animated substance. Some things he brought down ready made to our earth from the Supreme Being in heaven. Big-Raven appears as the first man, the father and protector of the Koryak; but at the same time he is a powerful shaman and a supernatural being. His name figures in all incantations. These are either prayers addressed to him, or, in cases of treating the sick, dramatic representations of myths relating how Big-Raven treated his own children, the patient personifying one of Big-Raven's children. His presence is presupposed in pronouncing the incantation, and sick people are treated by means of his name. In the same manner he is supposed to be present at every shamanistic ceremony. When the shamans of the Maritime Koryak commence their incantations, they say, "There, Big-Raven is coming!" The Reindeer Koryak told me that during shamanistic ceremonies a raven or a sea-gull comes flying into the house, and that the host will then say, "Slaughter a reindeer, Big-Raven is coming!" I had no opportunity to witness personally any sacrificial offering to Big-Raven; but at the fawn festival[2] which is now observed only by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains, the antlers piled up during the festival constitute a sacrifice to Big-Raven.

The name Tenanto'mwan,[3] but not his other two names, is always used in incantations, as will be seen later on from the texts which I succeeded in recording. His wife appears under one name only, Miti'.

In some of the myths we meet, together with Big-Raven (Quikinn-a'qu), who turns into a raven only when putting on a raven's coat, the real raven (va'lve, "raven;" or Valva'mtila'n,[4] "Raven-Man") as a representative of birds

[1] Steller, p. 253. But on p. 255 he says, "If it is at all permissible to speak of any kind of a god, we do not find any description of his nature, faculties, or deeds, though there is a name for him, in the Kamchadal language. They, the Kamchadals, call him Düstechtschitsch." This is evidently the Supreme Being of the Kamchadal, corresponding to the supreme benevolent deity of the Koryak. Unfortunately, Steller does not give any further information about that deity. At the present time the Kamchadal call the Christian God by the name Duste'qtit.

[2] See Chapter V, The Fawn Festival.

[3] Chukchee, Tē'nanto'ngin.

[4] The ending-la'n means "man."

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-02) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of that species, — a droll and contemptible personage, who feeds on dog carcasses and excrement, and has nothing in common with the cult. The Koryak do not consider it a sin to kill a raven. The raven, nevertheless, plays some part in their cosmogony. He swallowed the sun,[1] and Big-Raven's daughter got it out from his mouth, whereupon she killed him. This suggests the tale of the liberation of the sun told by the Indians of the North Pacific coast. In another tale[2] the raven and the sea-gull appear as shamans, bringing Eme'mqut, the son of Big-Raven, back to life several times, after he had been killed by an invincible giant who keeps his heart hidden in a box.

There are many contradictory accounts of the origin of Big-Raven. According to information given by a Koryak from Opu'ka, the Supreme Being was once sharpening his knife in heaven, and a piece of dust from the grindstone fell down to earth and turned into a man, and that man was Big-Raven. Many Koryak say that they do not know where Big-Raven came from, but that in olden times the people knew it. Others say that the Supreme Being created him, and sent him down to establish order on earth. According to one tale,[3] Big-Raven grew up all alone, having been left in the house by his father, Self-created (Tomwo'get), when quite a little boy. When he grew up, and commenced to go out hunting, he once happened to run up against a house in which a girl, Miti' by name, lived. She had been deserted when a little girl by her father, Twilight-Man (Gi'thiltla'n), and had grown up alone. Big-Raven married her, and the Koryak are their descendants.

Almost all of the recorded Koryak myths, with very few exceptions,[4] deal with the life, travels, adventures, and tricks of Big-Raven, his children, and other relatives. In this respect the Koryak mythology is very similar to the transformer myths of the Tlingit relating to the raven Yē'lch[5] or Yē'tl.[6]

Struck with the ridiculous and disrespectful character of the tales about "Ku'tka" in Kamchadal mythology, Steller calls the Kamchadal "geborene Gotteslästerer,"[7] and considers such an attitude toward the gods an anomalous exception. But the myths of the civilized peoples of antiquity, as well as those of other primitive tribes that have been collected since, prove that in point of coarseness the crude imagination of the Kamchadal does not stand alone. Indecent tales are, nevertheless, especially characteristic of the inhabitants of both shores of the North Pacific; and their obscene character constitutes one of the points of resemblance between Koryak and American mythology.

Big-Raven and his wife Miti' play all sorts of indecent tricks just for their amusement. They turn their sexual organs into dogs and people, and then set them back again in their places.[8] Miti' takes her anus and puts it in place

[1] See Tale 82. [2] See Tale 67. [3] Tale 20.
[4] Tales 27, 36, 44, 47, 97, 99. [5] Krause, pp. 253-282.
[6] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 311-328.
[7] Steller, p. 253. [8] Tales 7, 25, 31.

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776 of her vulva, and *vice versa*.[1] Miti′ prepares puddings out of her genitalia,
77? and treats her husband to them. He enters her anus as though it were a
house.[1] In another place, on the occasion of a famine, Big-Raven, as well as
831 every member of his family, — except his sons, who are absent with the reindeer, — following Big-Raven's order, each puts his head into his own anus, and, feeding there on excrement, imagines that he is wandering along a river-valley, and procuring fish.[2] Big-Raven appears, besides, as a being of a very low order of intelligence. Not only Miti′, who is represented as being brighter than he, succeeds in deceiving him, and excels him in cunning inventions, but even mice, foxes, and other animals cheat him, make fun of him, and deride him. It goes without saying, that all these funny, foolish, or indecent adventures of Big-Raven and other members of his family, go hand in hand
[522] with supernatural deeds and transformations. Although reflecting the Koryak view of nature and deities, they serve mainly as a source of amusement. The coarseness of the incidents does not prevent the Koryak from considering the heroes of those tales as their protectors.

77? According to some information, Big-Raven's wife Miti′, whose name is also connected with incantations, was thrown down from heaven upon earth
77? by her father, The-Master-on-High[3] (Gič̌ho′l-ett′nvıla°n). Big-Raven found her in the wilderness, and, knowing nothing of her origin, kept constantly taunting her, saying that she had no° kin. Another informer told me that Miti′ fell down upon the tundra from the clouds during a thunder-storm.

According to a third tradition, related to me by an Opu′ka Koryak, Miti′
[523] was the daughter of Crab (Toko′yoto), the master of the sea. This name designates a large sea-crab found in the Pacific Ocean. From what follows, it might seem that it is the spider-crab. Miti′ remained on the shore after high water. Big-Raven found her and took her for his wife. According to Tale 116, Big-Raven found in a water-hole a White-Whale woman, Miti′ by name, whom he took for his wife. Another tradition relates that Miti′ had been married to the master of the sea, and that Big-Raven took her away from him; that Miti′'s older daughters were not Big-Raven's children, but Crab's. This last tale is accompanied by an illustration (Fig. 1) made by a Maritime Koryak, Ka′mmake from the Opu′ka River. Ka′mmake

Fig. 1. Koryak Sketch illustrating the Tale of Big-Raven and the Spider-Crab.

[1] Tale 25. [2] Tale 42. [3] See p. 24.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

explained his drawing as follows: Big-Raven maltreated his daughters Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut, giving them nothing to eat or to drink. They got angry with him, and decided to run away to their real father, Crab (Toko'yoto), the master of the sea. They made a wooden whale, launched it upon the sea, and boarded it. Then it turned into a real whale. They started off in it. Their brother Eme'mqut, who happened to be on a rocky island hunting ducks, saw the whale, and aimed at it; but the elder sister shouted to him from within, and bow and arrows fell out of his hands. The sisters came to Crab, and remained with him.[1] Ka'mmake thus described the crab drawn by him: "He has ten legs, each as long as a man's arm, and without bones. He has no trunk. His head is round, like a man's, and has a beak like that of a ptarmigan. He lives on the bottom of the sea."

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According to one tale, Big-Raven had seven sons and five daughters; but the following names only are mentioned: the sons, Eme'mqut,[2] Big-Light (Qeskin·a'qu), One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na'ñqa-ka'le), Bear's-Ear (Ka'iñi-vi'lu), and in northern Kamchatka also Kiḥiḥičin·a'xu and Dawn-coming-out (Tña'nto); and the daughters, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut, Ičĭ'me-ñe'ut, and in northern Kamchatka An·a'rukča-ña'ut.[3] Of all the children, Eme'mqut and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut play the most important part in the myths. Both of them are shamans. These two are constantly engaged in a struggle with the cannibal kalau.[4] Their travels are full of adventures. They conquer their powerful rivals, ascend to heaven, or descend to the underground world. As told in Tale 9, Eme'mqut, together with his father, once put on a raven's coat, and turned into a raven; in Tales 8 and 136 Eme'mqut himself turned into a raven; and in Tale 82 Yiñe'a-ñe'ut set free the sun, which had been swallowed by Raven-Man. One of the stars of the Pleiades bears her name.

Among the other relatives of Big-Raven and Miti' are mentioned his brother Qaitaka'lăm (Brother); his sister A'na (also pronounced Ha'na or Ga'na[5]), who is also called Xe'llu; Great-Cold (Mai'ñi-ča'ičan or Čaičan·a'qu), her husband; and Miti''s brother, Little-Charm-Man (Ikle'mtĭla[6]n). Besides the children of Big-Raven, an important part is played in the myths by Illa' and Kĭlu', the son and daughter of Ga'na. White-Whale-Woman (Yi'yi or Yi'yi-ñe'ut) is mentioned as Kĭlu''s younger sister.[6]

Krasheninnikoff[7] cites the following Kamchadal names, which apparently

[1] A story referring to a wooden whale is told also in Tale 69.

[2] I have been unable to find out the meaning of this name.

[3] The ending — ñe'ut or — ña'ut means "woman."

[4] That is, malevolent beings. Kalau is the plural of kala (see p. 27).

[5] Steller (p. 281) mentions "Chana" as the Kamchadal name of the constellation the Great Bear.

[6] Tale 50. Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 638) says that "the Chukchee tradition knows also the name of Miti' or Miti-ñe (ñe being abbreviated from ñe'ut, 'woman'), the Raven's wife," and that the Koryak of northern Kamchatka call Miti''s brother White-Whale-Man (Sial'um), and the other sons of Qoĭkun·a'qa and Miti', Kipgičin·a'ku, Kutha'nu, Krĭ'nynaku, Va'la, and Milpo'tayan. Steller calls Big-Raven's wife Chi'chĭ (p. 254), and his son Desolkut (p. 264).

[7] Krasheninnikoff, II, pp. 100-107.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R74

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have been distorted by defective recording, Ku'tkhu, his wife Ilkxum, his sister Xu'thzič, his sons Sı'mskalin and Tı'zil-Ku'tkhu, and his daughter Sı'duku. Tı'zil-Ku'tkhu married Sı'duku. They had a son Amle'ı, and a daughter, who also intermarried, and the Kamchadal are their descendants. Neither Steller nor Krashenimnikoff give the meaning of any of the above-mentioned names.

One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na'ñqa-ka'le), the son of Big-Raven, is a strong man or a hero who remains sitting at one place, and does nothing but paint his belly. It is only after urgent entreaties on the part of his father that he starts out in search of his brothers, who were killed by cannibal monsters.

The tales relating to Big-Raven's life and creative activity are just as contradictory as those which treat of his appearance on earth. According to some of them, not only the earth and all phenomena of nature, but animals and even men, had existed before him. It is frequently told in the tales that Big-Raven lived alone, and that there were no other people; but then it turns out that, far away from his habitation, other people live. For instance, in Tale 6 it is said that his neighbors were Chukchee, with whom he was engaged in warfare. It is apparently meant by this that there were no Koryak as yet, and in that sense Big-Raven was alone. In other tales, Reindeer people from a distance are mentioned. This must be understood to mean that there were no Maritime people, who, by the way, are clearly distinguished from the Reindeer people; Big-Raven himself being always described as a Maritime settler.

According to a tradition recorded by myself in the Itkana settlement, there were no other people when Big-Grandfather appeared on earth. Real men appeared later on, or were the descendants of his children; while Big-Grandfather lived with animals, birds, and phenomena of nature as though they were human beings. He used to pay them visits, and received them at his house. According to other traditions, however, Big-Raven created mankind, reindeer, and other animals. As has been said before, however, this creative activity entirely excludes the conception of calling new objects or beings into existence, but simply means the change of things from one form into another, and the bringing to light of hitherto hidden objects. For instance, according to some tales, Big-Raven pulls out the post to which dogs are tied, and herds of domestic reindeer come out of the ground: in other tales he brings reindeer from the Supreme Being in heaven, or makes wooden reindeer and endows them with life. Big-Raven introduced order on earth. He taught people how to catch sea-animals and fish; he gave them the drum and the fire-drill; he gave them protection from evil spirits, and incantations against diseases; but he also introduced death among mankind.

It is unknown whither Big-Raven disappeared. He bade his descendants burn their dead; but he ordered that after death his own body should be placed in a separate house, which should be closed up. This house and Big-Raven himself were turned into stone after his death.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RV4 Koryak R14

According to other traditions, Big-Raven wandered away from the Koryak country, no one knows where. The same is related in the Kamchadal traditions; but, according to the latter, Raven (Kutq) went away from the Kamchadal to the Koryak and Chukchee. Some say that Big-Raven departed because he was displeased with men, since they ceased to heed his advice: others say that once, after having procured a whale, he arranged the whale festival, but the whale could not be induced to start off.[1]

Traces of Big-Raven's former places of abode are shown in several localities. On the Taigonos Peninsula it is said that he lived on a sea-cliff, not far from the village of Middle Itkana (Osgi'nčo). Before leaving the Koryak country, Big-Raven turned his house, his skin boat, and his storage-house into stone. The Koryak say that all these things have retained their previous forms. The stone plug for the hole in the roof of the porch[2] is still lying on top of the house. Big-Raven had some iron under his skin boat; but the Koryak are unable to lift the boat in order to get it, and therefore use the imported Russian iron. He also thrust his grindstone into the rock, where it forms a thick layer of slate. Since the rock is disintegrating, the Koryak manage to get pieces of grindstone, and make whetstones out of them. Stone hatchets and knives that are occasionally found in the bank which is being washed away, and that are simply remnants of ancient Koryak settlements, are considered by the Koryak to be Big-Raven's implements.

In the village of Kamenskoye (Vai'kenan) the Koryak told me of traces of Big-Raven's footsteps, and of those of his reindeer, upon a ridge along the left bank of the Penshina River. The Alutora Koryak say that Big-Raven's petrified house is in Baron Korff's Bay.

Big-Raven lived in an underground house, like the Maritime Koryak; but he had a herd of reindeer at the same time, and his sons used to roam about with it just as the Reindeer Koryak do. Such a method of living may be found at present among the Koryak of northern Kamchatka and Alutora. Tales describing this mode of life seem to reconcile the antagonism between the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak which may be noticed in some tales, in which the Maritime Koryak are always given the preference. Thus, for example, in Tales 7 and 59 Eme'mqut represents the Maritime Koryak, while Envious-One (Nipai'vatičŋn) represents the Reindeer people; and the wife of the former excels the wife of the latter in beauty and in shamanistic art.

The Supreme Being. — Though occupying the most important place in the religious life of the Koryak, the conception of the Supreme Being is vague. It is quite materialistic, although some names of this deity, translated into a civilized language, suggest abstract ideas. Nothing is known of his origin or

[1] The same is told in Tale 20 about Creator's (Tenanto'mwan) and Miti''s fathers (see Chapter V, The Whale Festival).

[2] See p. 14, Footnote 4.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

his world-creating activity, except that he sent Big-Raven down to our earth to establish order; but he is the personification of the vital principle in nature taken in its entirety. On the other hand, he is an anthropomorphic being, — an old man living in a settlement in heaven, and having a wife and children. He is a benevolent being, well disposed toward men, but displaying little activity. The course of events takes place under his supervision. If he wills, he can give abundance and plenty, or put an end to prosperity, and send a visitation of famine and other calamities upon mankind; but he seldom makes use of his power to do evil to men.

The Supreme Being is known under the following names: Ña'iñınen (Universe, World, Outer-One); Ina'hıtela°n or Ginа'gıtela°n (Supervisor); Ya-qhı'čăın or Caqhı'čăın (Something-Existing), called by the Paren people Vahı'čăın by those of Kamenskoye Vahı'tăm, or by the Reindeer Koryak Vahı'yñın (Existence, also Strength); Gı'čhola°n (The-One-on-High); Gičho'l-etı'nvıla°n (The-Master-on-High) or simply E'tın (Master); Tña'ırgın (Dawn). Some identify the sun with him. In Tale 113 we meet with the name Kihi'gila°n (Thunder-Man) for the Supreme Being.

The Chukchee call Existence Va'ırgin (from the verb tıtva'rkin, "I exist," "I am"). It should be noted here that Mr. Bogoras[1] considers this word, not as the name of an individual deity, but as that applied to the entire class of benevolent spirits. In the same manner the Asiatic Eskimo use the word Kıya'ŋaŋak (from kıyaŋakuña, "I exist," "I am"). Mr. Bogoras states that the name Va'ırgin is used in some cases even with reference to evil spirits; but the Koryak among whom I collected information identified this name with the other names of the Supreme Being. It is probable that previously the Koryak may also have applied this name to a class of beings. It is also possible that all names now applied by them to one deity may have formerly been applied to various beings or phenomena of nature, and that, owing to their intercourse with the Russians, a monotheistic tendency of uniting all names of the various deities into one may have developed; and, indeed, I used to notice such a tendency, and wondered at it. Once a Cossack was trying to persuade a Maritime Koryak to embrace the Orthodox faith. "Why should I be baptized?" the latter replied evasively, pointing upward with his hand. "We all have one God, anyway." On the other hand, Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'hala°n) figures as the son of the Supreme Being under his various names. This idea appears equally clear in the tales and in my notes. It does not seem likely that this identification of the father of Cloud-Man with one single supreme being, known under many different names, should be due to Russian monotheistic influence. I recollect one case in which a Koryak identified the dawn with the Supreme Being. It was in spring, in the camp

[1] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 587.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of the chief[1] of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula. One morning, as soon as dawn was visible in the east, he called the herdsmen who were sleeping near our tent, and, pointing to the east, said, "The-One-on-High has woke up: it is time for us to get up too." Such occasional expressions lead to a much better insight into the ideas of primitive man about cosmogony than questions, which are usually put in such a way that they necessarily suggest the reply.

What are the relations of the people to this deity? They are based rather on a sense of gratitude and the desire to secure his good-will than on fear. Gratitude is expressed in the offering of sacrifices; but the latter are also offered in advance to secure future prosperity, or as atonement for transgressions of taboos.

All thoughts of the Koryak are concentrated upon the procuring of food, the hunting of sea and land animals, picking berries and roots, and the safe-keeping of the herds. All these things are in abundance as long as The-One-on-High looks down upon earth; but no sooner does he turn away than disorder reigns. In Tale 9 Big-Raven becomes unsuccessful in his hunt when Universe (Ña'ñmen) has gone to sleep. Failure to offer customary sacrifices may also lead to disaster. In Tale 111 young Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), the husband of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Big-Raven's daughter, fails to sacrifice reindeer to Supervisor's (Ina'hitela'n) son Cloud-Man (Ya'hala'n), as is customary to do at a wedding; and in consequence Supervisor pushes Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to the very edge of the hearth, owing to which she is roasted by the fire, and wastes away. Of course, it must be understood here that it is her soul which was close to the fire, for Yiñe'a-ñe'ut herself was not at the edge of the hearth at all.

The notions as to the direct interference of the Supreme Being with worldly affairs are very confused. Men seem to be left to their own resources in their struggle with evil spirits, diseases, and death: they appeal for help to Big-Raven, to protecting spirits, and to amulets.

The abode of the Supreme Being is identified with the world beyond the clouds, the sky, "the heaven village" inhabited by the people of the sky (I'ye-ntmyi'sa'n, "inhabitants of the heaven village"), who possess reindeer, and resemble the people our world, of the earth.

The wife of the Supreme Being is called Supervisor-Woman (Lap-ña'ut, literally "the woman who looks or supervises").[2] In Tale 9 she is called Rain-Woman or Dampness-Woman (I'leña or I'le-ñe'ut). According to other notes collected by me, the sea itself figures as the wife of The-One-on-High, and her name is Sea-Woman (A'nqa-ña'ut).

[1] That is, the chief elected by the natives, or appointed by the government, who is responsible for the payment of tribute to the Russian Government.

[2] See Tale 114.

1 [The Supreme Being. See category 776, pp. 23-27 -- Analyst]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Besides his general function as supervisor of the course of things on earth, The-One-on-High is particularly concerned in birth. He sends the souls of the new-born into the wombs of their mothers. The souls (uyi'čit or uyi'rit) are hung up in the house of the deity on posts and beams. The duration of the earthly life of each soul is marked beforehand on thongs tied to them. A long strap indicates longevity; a short one, the early death of the child to be born. After death the human soul returns to The-One-on-High, who after some time sends it into a relative of its former owner, to be re-born. A drawing (Fig. 40) made by the Koryak Yulta of the village of Kamenskoye serves to illustrate the tale in which is described how the souls are hanging in the deity's house.

Two children of the Supreme Being are mentioned by name, — his son Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'hala'n) or Cloud-Maker (Ta''yañ), and his daughter Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). Cloud-Man figures as the protector of young couples. Young men beat the drum, and appeal to him to turn to them the "mind" or heart of the girl, and *vice versa*. On the right side of a picture drawn by the above-mentioned Koryak (see Fig. 41) a girl is represented beating the drum in order to attract to herself the heart of a young man. The sounds of the drum reach the ears of Cloud-Man, who draws a line connecting the affections of the two young people. In one tale[1] Fog-Man beats the drum to attract the heart of Big-Raven's daughter. Cloud-Man causes Big-Raven to conceive the thought of marrying Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to her brother, and thus induces Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to flee to Fog-Man. For his mediation in love-matters Cloud-Man gets a sacrificial reindeer from the bridegroom after the marriage has taken place. In another tale[2] Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), after his marriage, fails to follow this custom, and his bride ails and wastes away until he does his duty toward Cloud-Man.

The Supreme Being plays no active part in mythology, at least not in the myths collected by me; but there are numerous tales relating to Cloud-Man's marriage with Big-Raven's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and to Cloud-Woman becoming Eme'mqut's wife. On such occasions, Big-Raven and his family ascend to heaven to visit with his divine father-in-law: and Cloud-Man, with his sister and other inhabitants of heaven, come down to Big-Raven's settlement to return his visit.

Only one tale[3] relating to The-Master-on-High, and containing coarse details, can be compared with the tales relating to Big-Raven. In order to cause rain on earth, Universe (Ñai'ñinen) attaches his wife's vulva to a drum, which he beats with his penis: and the liquid which is squirted out from the vulva falls down on earth as rain. In order to put an end to the incessant rain, Big-Raven and his son Eme'mqut turn into ravens and fly up to heaven. They cause the deity and his wife to fall asleep, and carefully dry their privates

[1] Tale 66. [2] Tale 111. [3] Tale 9.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Z/4 Koryak R14

by the fire. On awakening, Universe is no longer able to produce rain by beating the drum, and thus it clears up on earth. It is interesting to note that this tale is told in order to put an end to rain or to a snow-storm. On the other hand, it must not be told in fine weather, lest it bring on rain or a storm. The tale was told to me during fine weather, and therefore a sacrifice to Universe had to be offered first. This was done by burning some fat, the idea being that the fire acts as an intermediary between the supplicant and Universe. However, I had to take upon myself the responsibility for the consequences.

MALEVOLENT BEINGS. — The first place among beings that are ill-disposed to mankind is occupied by the so-called kalau (*sing.* kala[1]), which correspond to the Chukchee kelet. The people of Paren call them also kalak or kamak; and among the Reindeer Koryak they are frequently called ñe'nvetičăm or ñi'nvit. However, the above-mentioned names for evil spirits are known among all the Koryak. The Koryak conception of their dual nature finds expression in their myths, and appeared clearly in conversation. The kala appears sometimes as an invisible being that kills people by supernatural or rather invisible means; and sometimes he appears as a common cannibal. His material and spiritual features are often intermingled.

The relations between the kalau and the Supreme Being were described to me by an old man named Yulta, from the village of Kamenskoye. At one time the kalau lived with The-Master-on-High in the upper world; but he quarrelled with them, and sent them down to our world. This resembles somewhat the biblical conception of the fallen angels. The official chief of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula used to tell me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to people when they do wrong, just as the Czar sends his Cossacks against those that are disobedient. Others told me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to the people that they may die, and that he may create other people. A similar story was told to me about Big-Raven. He sends the kalau down to the people to give them a chance to test the power of their incantations against diseases and death, which he had bequeathed to them. In one tale[2] the dead ancestors send the kalau from the underground world into the village of their descendants to punish the young people for playing games at night, and thus disturbing the rest of the old people.

According to Koryak ideas, the kalau constitute families, just like human beings, with an old man as the head of the family, his children, their wives, etc. I heard various accounts concerning the abode of the kalau, from which it may be concluded that several groups are distinguished, according to their place of residence.[3] Some live in the world under us. They have daytime

[1] See p. 41, Footnote 4.

[2] Tale 43.

[3] It is interesting to note, that, while the idea of evil spirits dwelling in the upper world is foreign to the Koryak mind, the Yakut subdivide their evil spirits (Abasyla'r), which correspond to the kalau, into upper (that is, heavenly), middle (earthly), and lower (or those of the underground world).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

776 when it is night here. They sleep when we are awake. When visiting the houses to cause diseases and to kill people, they enter from under ground through the hearth-fire, and return the same way. It happens at times that they steal people, and carry them away. They are invisible to human beings, and are capable of changing their size. They are sometimes so numerous in houses, that they sit on the people, and fill up all corners. With hammers and axes they knock people over their heads, thus causing headaches. They bite, and cause swellings. They shoot invisible arrows, which stick in the body, causing death, if a shaman does not pull them out in time. The kalau tear out pieces of flesh from people, thus causing sores and wounds to form on their bodies.

Other kalau live on the earth, toward the west, where the sun sets, on the borders of the Koryak country. They are thus identified with the darkness of night. They live in villages, whence they invade the camps and settlements of man. Their mere approach to a settlement is enough to cause people to get ill, for "their breath is as poisonous as nux vomica." Thus, when Big-Raven's children began to ail, he said, "The kalau must be near by." Their arrows are supplied with mouths, and they can be shot without the use of a bow, and fly wherever they are sent. They enter the houses of the Reindeer Koryak from above, and those of the Maritime people by descending along the back of the ladder. Sometimes these kalau appear in visible form, as animals. Some Koryak, for instance, in speaking about the epidemic of measles of 1900, which exterminated a considerable number of the inhabitants of the Gishiga district, told me that the kalau which caused the epidemic came running from the direction of sunset in the guise of colts. This particular idea can be explained by the fact that the measles had been brought to the country by the Russians, hence the kala of that disease assumed the form of a Russian animal. In one tale[1] the kala is described as having a human face and a dog's body. They appear frequently in the guise of human beings with pointed heads.

In some myths relating to the kalau, they appear, not as supernatural beings, but as common cannibals, longing for human flesh, and with a ravenous appetite. They resemble in this respect the malevolent beings of the Yukaghir called Mythical-Old-Man (Ču'oleji-Po'ɭut) or Mythical-Old-Woman (Ču'oleji-Teri'ke). Cannibalism, in the tales of the kalau, is at times so vividly depicted, that the tales appear like descriptions of tribes of cannibals.

Big-Raven and his children wage a constant war against the kalau. At one time his children and he himself were first eaten by them, and then revived by shamanistic exercises of the members of Big-Raven's family who had remained alive. According to mythology, the kalau are coarse, stupid

[1] Tale 43.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4

beings, whom Big-Raven often vanquishes by means of cunning devices. The final victory is always on the side of Big-Raven or of his children. Sometimes he completely destroys the kalau, and thereupon his children recover: at other times he renders them harmless. He causes them to fall asleep; he takes out their cannibal-stomachs during their sleep, and puts other ones in their places, usually those of some rodents. At still other times he devises some other means of protecting himself and his children against the invasion of the cannibals. In one story[1] it is told that he heated stones in his house until they were red-hot, invited the kalau to sit on them, and thus burned them. At another time[2] he got rid of them by making a steam-bath for them, in which they were smothered. At times an incantation serves him as a means of rescue. In another story[3] Big-Raven appealed to The-Master-on-High for help against the mouthed arrows of the kalau with whom he had been at war; and the deity gave him an iron mouth, which caught all the arrows sent by the kalau.

There are Maritime and Reindeer kalau. The houses of the former have no storm-roof[4] to protect them from the snow: they have only an opening to admit the light; but it does not serve as an entrance, since the kalau go in and out through the ground under the hearth-fire. Instead of dogs, they keep bears, which tear up their human victims. The Reindeer kalau have reindeer herds; but, according to some myths, mountain-sheep constitute their herds. There are kalau also in the tundra and in the woods, where they waylay man, and whence they invade human settlements to procure human flesh. They hunt human beings just as men hunt reindeer and seals.

At the time when Big-Raven lived, the kalau were visible beings; but ever after he took away their herds, and waged war against them, they became invisible; and after Big-Raven disappeared, they assailed man, and death became his lot.

Some kalau perform special functions, representing particular diseases. There is the kala that "causes one to shudder;" that is, produces certain nervous diseases among women.

Some kalau have proper names; thus, the eldest son of one old kala is called Able-to-do-Everything (Apka'wka; literally, "not powerless to do anything"); his daughter, E'me-ñe'ut.[6] She was so beautiful that her bare hand would illuminate the darkness of the night. Eme'mqut married her, after having killed all the cannibals.

Names of some cannibals that apparently do not belong to the kalau are mentioned in the myths. These are Lo'čex[8] and Gormandizer[7] (A'wye-qla'ul). There are also names of some kalau that are not cannibals: for instance, Big-Kamak-who-turns-Himself-Inside-Out (Čihr'ḷi Kamakn·a'qu), a kala whose mouth

[1] Tale 73. [2] Tale 13. [3] Tale 37. [4] See p. 14, Footnote 4.
[6] Tale 78. [6] Tale 79. [7] Tale 112.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

turned inside out as soon as he began to laugh, and who is considered a ludicrous figure.

Although, on the whole, the word "kala" denotes all powers harmful to man, and all that is evil in nature, there are numbers of objects and beings known under the name of "kalak" or "kamak" that do not belong to the class of evil spirits. Thus, the guardian spirits of the Koryak shamans, and some varieties of guardians of the village, of the family, or of individuals, are called by this name. These will be discussed later on.[1]

"Owners" and Other Supernatural Beings."— Another class of supernatural beings are known as Owners or Masters (E'tin). They represent the idea of a more or less powerful being who is the "owner" of an object, who resides in the object. Among the Koryak the conception is not well developed. It seems to me that this conception belongs to a stage of religious consciousness higher than that of the Koryak, among whom it is not yet differentiated from a lower animistic view of nature. The conception of "masters" residing, under the name of inua ("its man"), within things, or phenomena of nature, is quite clear among the Eskimo, is well developed with the Yukaghir (they call their "owners" po'gil), and is especially developed among the Siberian tribes with typical Asiatic culture. Among the Yakut the "masters" are called i'čči; and the word e'cen or i'šin is used in the same sense among the Buryat. According to the idea prevalent among all these tribes, every object — or at least every important natural object — has a spirit-owner residing within it. I have been unable to observe a clear conception of this kind among the Koryak.

The following data are characteristic of the notions of the Koryak:—

One Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, who had gone to the seashore in the beginning of summer to hunt seals and to fish, offered a reindeer as a sacrifice to the sea. The Koryak for "sea" is a'ŋqa; and for "master of the sea," aŋqa'ken-etı'nvıla'n. I asked him whether he offered his sacrifice to the sea, or to the master of the sea. He did not understand the question at first. Apparently he had never thought about it, and very likely the two conceptions were confused in his mind. After a little while, however, he replied, "I don't know. We say, 'sea' and 'owner of the sea:' it is just the same." At the same time I was told by the Koryak of other places that the owner of the sea is a woman; while others considered the sea itself as a woman. The Crab (Toko'yoto) is considered to be the deity of the sea, along the North Pacific coast; and, according to Mr. Bogoras, the Koryak of Kamchatka consider the crab A'vvi as such.[2]

I have received similar incoherent replies when inquiring about the so-called apa'pel (from a'pa, "father" in the Kamenskoye dialect, "grandfather" in the Paren dialect). Certain hills, capes, and cliffs are called by this name.

[1] See p. 36. [2] See Tale 134.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44 Koryak R'4

They protect hunters and travellers, and sacrifices are offered to them; but whether apa'pel is applied to the hill itself, or to the spirit residing in it, I am unable to say. It would rather seem that the hill proper is the guardian. 776 823

The sun, the moon, and the stars also figure as animated beings. The sun is sometimes identified with The-Master-on-High. Whe shall see hereafter that special sacrifices are offered to the sun. In some tales[1] Sun-Man (Teike'mtila'n) has a wife and children and his own country, which is inhabited by Sun people. In these tales it is told that Eme'mqut marries Sun-Man's daughter; while in another one[2] it is related that Sun-Man marries Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. On the other hand, we also hear that the sun as a luminary is swallowed by the raven, and set free by Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. 782

In one tale[3] the moon figures as a man, Moon-Man (Yae'lhi'mtila'n); while in another[4] she is a woman who is trying hard to induce Eme'mqut to marry her. 776 821

A Star-Man (Añayi'mtila'n) is also mentioned.[5] The sky is regarded as a country inhabited by a stellar people.

[1] Tales 12, 21. [2] Tale 19. [3] Tale 114. [4] Tale 29.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

IV. — SHAMANISM AND INCANTATIONS.

Shamanism.

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General Remarks. — Shamanism may be defined as the art of influencing, by the help of guardian spirits, the course of events. Among the Koryak we may distinguish professional shamanism and family shamanism. Professional shamans are those who are inspired by special spirits. Their opportunities for displaying their powers are not limited to a certain group of people. The more powerful they are, the wider is the circle in which they can practise their art. Family shamanism is connected with the domestic hearth, whose welfare is under its care. The family shaman has charge of the celebration of family festivals, rites, sacrificial ceremonies, of the use of their charms and amulets, and of their incantations. Some women possess, besides the knowledge of incantations which are a family secret, that of a considerable number of other incantations, which they make use of outside of the family circle for a consideration.

756 776

Professional Shamans. — The professional shaman is called eñe'ñala'n (that is, a man inspired by spirits), from e'ñeñ ("shaman's spirit").[1] Every shaman has his own guardian spirits, that help him in his struggle with the disease-inflicting kalau, in his rivalry with other shamans, and also in attacks upon his enemies. The shaman spirits usually appear in the form of animals or birds. The most common guardian spirits are the wolf, the bear, the raven, the sea-gull, and the eagle. Nobody can become a shaman of his own free will. The spirits enter into any person they may choose, and force him to become their servant. Those that become shamans are usually nervous young men subject to hysterical fits, by means of which the spirits express their demand that the young man should consecrate himself to the service of shamanism. I was told that people about to become shamans have fits of wild paroxysm alternating with a condition of complete exhaustion. They will lie motionless for two or three days without partaking of food or drink. Finally they retire to the wilderness, where they spend their time enduring hunger and cold in order to prepare themselves for their calling. There the spirits appear to them in visible form, endow them with power, and instruct them. The second of the two shamans of whom I shall speak below told me how the spirits of the wolf, raven, bear, sea-gull, and plover, appeared to him in the desert, — now in the form of men, now in that of animals, — and commanded him to become a shaman, or to die.

[1] At present the Koryak also term the Christian God and the images of the Orthodox Church e'ñeñ.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 grass masks by the Maritime Koryak during the whale festival. I also found wooden masks in use among them. In October, 1900, I sent Mr. Axelrod from the village of Kuel to the winter village of Paren for the purpose of taking anthropometric measurements of the inhabitants who had just moved there from their summer settlement. Mr. Axelrod, on his return, brought back, among other things, a few wooden masks. Since those masks appeared to me to be similar to the crude masks of the northern Alaskan Eskimo, and since the use of masks in general suggested a possible contact between the Koryak and the tribes of the western coasts of America, I went personally to the village of Paren in order to acquire more detailed information regarding the meaning and use of these masks. The settlement of Paren is fifteen miles 221 distant from Kuel. It is situated on the left bank of the Paren River, ten 361 miles above its estuary. The inhabitants spend spring, summer, and autumn on the seashore in the settlement of Khaĭmchik, at the mouth of the river Paren. As soon as the hunting-season closes, they move to Paren. While the seashore is altogether treeless, forests grow near the winter settlement, offering some protection against sea gales, and furnishing wood for fuel and building-material.

532 In Paren I learned the following about the use of masks, called by the 536 Koryak ulya'utkoučăin (literally, "wearing of masks;" from u'lya, "a mask"). They are worn during the first winter month after the new moon. Their use is partly for religious purposes, partly for amusement, the celebration being a [776] kind of masquerade. The object of walking about in masks and masquerade costumes is to drive away the kalau (kne'ñvit-aita'ti)[1] who have taken possession of the houses during the absence of the people in summer. The masks represent Big-Raven and members of his family, who constantly waged war with the kalau. However, when the masked performers descended into the house where I stopped, they were met with shouts of "Ugh! kalau have arrived!" (Gik, ñe'nveticăm yelxi'vi!) which was apparently meant either as a joke, or to frighten the kalau that were in the house. There are masks representing men and others representing women. The difference between them is that the former have mustaches, in a few cases also chin-beards, drawn with black paint or a piece of coal, while the latter are not painted at all. In Paren, only young men wore masks, not girls. They were dressed in the most homely manner. They had pulled the sleeves of their shaggy reindeer coats over their legs, and tied them so that the hood dangled behind like a tail; and they wore old greasy leather shirts. They rolled down into the house with great noise, missing several steps of the ladder. They examined all the nooks and corners. Then they commenced a dance, and represented various scenes of the coming winter life, — bear-hunting, sledge-riding, and racing. Plate v, Fig. 2 (see opp. p. 74), represents three masked persons pretending to warm themselves by a wood-

[1] See p. 27.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

774 761 implied in the words wuyı́'vı (*breathing*) and wu'yıl-wu'yıl (*shadow*). Furthermore, the demarcation between life and death is very ill defined. The dead body is believed not to be deprived of the ability to move. The deceased may arise, if he is not watched. On the Taigonos Peninsula, the Reindeer Koryak told me that a Koryak, by name Ei'gelin, died a few years ago. It so happened that everybody in the house went to sleep, then he arose. When the people awoke, and saw that he was standing, they stabbed him with their knives; but he merely laughed. Then they tried to club him, but were unable to kill him. They dragged him to the fire, but could not burn him. He walked from house to house, saying, "Here, I am leading Ei'gelin." Finally a Russian undertook to burn him. He was given reindeer and a sledge, then he cut Ei'gelin to pieces and carted them away to be burned.

775 The soul does not leave earth at once. The person may be dead, but his soul is soaring high above him. The soul resembles a small fire. It is outside of the body during illness. If the illness is slight, the soul keeps close above the patient; and if it is severe, it is higher up, and farther away from him. Powerful shamans are able to cause the soul to return, and thus restore to life a person that has died recently. The Koryak Yulta, from Kamenskoye, told me that his father had died twice. The first time he died at sunset. A shaman, summoned from the Livaty settlement, spent all night beating the drum; and toward sunrise Yulta's father revived. He lived for a long time after that. After his recovery he told the people that he had been walking all alone in the other world for a long time. Finally he beheld a house, and near it he saw his fellow-villager Qatče'pin. He asked him, "How didst thou get here?" and Qatče'pin replied, "I sold to the Russian chief two dogs that I had promised to offer to the Supreme Being. On account of this I died." It so happened that Qatče'pin died the same night; and when Yulta's father revived, wood was being piled up for burning Qatče'pin's body.

776 761 Often death is brought about by attacks of the kalau, and it is believed that the kalau cut their victims. It is not quite clear how this is believed to be done. On the one hand, the kala seems to eat human flesh in the most material way, tearing out pieces of flesh from live people, and devouring their internal organs. The Koryak say that he likes human liver particularly well. On the other hand, the body of the deceased, before it is burned, does not show any signs of having been touched by any one. According to the Chukchee conception, evil spirits steal the soul (uwı'rit) in order to eat it, and they fatten it before feasting on it.[1] We find this conception in a clearer form among the Yakut. The evil spirits eat the soul kut, one of the three souls of men.

775 The Koryak have also a double conception of the country of the shadows. While the soul rises to the Supreme Being, the deceased and his other soul,

[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 17.

h: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak RY4

In one story[1] a man whom Big-Raven made of a wiping-rag has the peculiarity of constantly moving his bowels; and in other tales[2] Raven-Man and also Big-Raven cannot break away from the raven's habit of devouring excrement. The Stone-Hammer people retain hard heads. Illa' knocks them against each other for his amusement.[3] One part of Tale 4 (p. 133) is particularly interesting in this respect. Looking for his sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Eme'mqut finds her in the village of the Cloud people, and notices that the people there, their reindeer, their houses, the pots that are hanging over the hearth, expand and contract like clouds.

In the time of Big-Raven there was no sharp distinction between men, animals, and other objects; but what used to be the ordinary, visible state in his time, became invisible afterward. The nature of things remained the same; but the transformation of objects from one state into another ceased to be visible to men, just as the kalau became invisible to them. Only shamans — that is, people inspired by spirits — are able to see the kalau, and to observe the transformation of objects. They are also able to transform themselves by order of the spirits, or in accordance with their own wishes. There is still a living anthropomorphic essence concealed under the visible inanimate appearance of objects. Household utensils, implements, parts of the house, the chamber-vessel, and even excrement, have an existence of their own. All the household effects act as guardians of the family to which they belong. They may warn their masters of danger, and attack their enemies.[4] Even such things as the voice of an animal, sounds of the drum, and human speech, have an existence independent of that of the objects that produce them. In Tale 16, Big-Raven sells his daughter to a seal for a song, which the last named spits into the mouth of Big-Raven.

At the time of Big-Raven there existed a number of beings possessed of particular supernatural powers. The first place among these belongs to the Supreme Being, known under various names, — the tribal deity that supervises the universe.

Another supernatural personage is Big-Raven himself, who is considered as the first man, the ancestor of the race, who set the universe in order.

The kalau, which are endowed with peculiar powers, represent the evil principle of primitive dualism.

The Supreme Being, who is generally rather inactive, assists only on rare occasions in man's struggles with the kalau. Their attacks are warded off mainly with the help of the family and individual guardians and charms. It seems to me that the living, anthropomorphic essence of the guardians is sent to defend man, and that it attains its power by means of incantations connected with the name of the Creator, that is, of Big-Raven. In this lies mainly the importance of Big-Raven in the religious life of the Koryak. During his life,

[1] Tale 60. [2] Tales 42, 47. [3] Tale 48. [4] Tale 22.

Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R7u

776 773

Big-Raven carried on an incessant struggle with the kalau, and now he guards his children against them.

There are some cases in which the invisible living essence of an object offers itself to a person as his guardian. Krasheninnikoff's tale of the "Stone Wife"[1] may be classed among such phenomena. It is told in this story, that a Koryak once picked up a stone in his pathway. The stone blew at him. He was frightened, threw it away, and afterward began to feel ill. Then he searched for the stone, took it along, and called it his wife. Thereupon he recovered from his illness.[2] Another example of objects offering themselves as guardians may be found in the worm amulet.[3] In this case an incantation cannot be dispensed with, since it increases the power of the guardian who has offered his services. It should be remarked, however, that an incantation does not possess unlimited power; and from time to time the Koryak must repeat the incantations over their guardians, that they may retain their power.

The shaman spirits (e'ñeñ[4]) belong to the class of guardians who offer their services to certain persons who afterwards become shamans; but they are more powerful than other guardians.

Side by side with the animate and anthropomorphic essence of objects and phenomena of nature in general, are also the owners or masters (e'ɪns) ruling over certain classes of things, or over large objects. The Supreme Being is also an owner, since he is the master of the upper world, of heaven. The master of the sea, and the master of the forest or river, are also called e'ɪns. Pičvu'čin, the god of hunting, who is common to the Koryak, the Kamchadal,[5] and the Chukchee,[6] is the master of wild reindeer and other wild animals.

As stated above, the idea of "masters" is to be regarded as a higher stage of religious consciousness as compared with that in which the animate essence of the object is identified or merged with the object itself. The idea of masters or owners is very little developed among the Koryak. It has attained a higher degree of development among the Chukchee, and a still higher one among the Yukaghir, who believe that not only classes of objects, but also individual objects, have masters, who are called Po'gil (*pl.* Pogi'lpe).

The identification of an object with its living essence is common to the Koryak and to the Indians of North America. The idea of "owners" is found

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 222.

[2] The tornaq of the Eskimo are very much like this kind of guardian. They live in stones which roll down the hills during the thawing of the snow. These tornaq ask the Eskimo they meet with, whether they wish to take them as their guardians. In case of an affirmative reply, the stone rolls over, accompanying the man (Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 591); but the tornaq is regarded as an owner (inua) residing in the stone. It is worthy of note here, that stones play the rôle of guardians also among the Indians. The Tetons, a division of the Dakota, regard certain small stones as mysterious, and it is said that in former days a man had one as his helper or servant (Dorsey, Teton Folk-Lore, in American Anthropologist, Vol. II, 1889, p. 153).

[3] See p. 43.

[4] At present the Koryak also call the Christian God by the name e'ñeñ.

[5] Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 102) calls it Pila'hhul; and Steller (p. 266), Billukai or Billukut.

[6] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 628.

h: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

among the Eskimo, who call the owner inua, as well as among other Siberian tribes. In discussing the Koryak myths I shall point out the identity of the elements of which they are composed with episodes from Indian myths, and how insignificant is the number of Siberian-Asiatic ideas in the Koryak tales. I will not attempt to draw any positive conclusions in regard to their religious conceptions, but will offer here some comparative material to students better acquainted with Eskimo-Indian beliefs. I consider the concept that the kalau form a separate class of beings absolutely hostile to men, as due to the influence of the Asiatic dualistic conception of supernatural powers. The North American Indians believe that dwellers of the sky, and cannibals evilly disposed toward men, reside side by side with benevolent agents in one and the same sky.[1] The Eskimo "master" may become a tornaq, a spirit which may be a guardian of man, or hostile to him.[2] It is true that many Koryak guardians are called kalak or kamak, and correspond in this respect to the Eskimo tornaq; but the class of kalau which commit exclusively evil acts does not seem to occur in American mythologies. The evil kalau correspond exactly to the Yakut abasyla'r. The Yakut evil spirits (abasyla'r) are cannibals, and particularly soul-eaters; and their characteristic peculiarity, like that of the Chukchee kelet and the Koryak kalau, is that they are fond of human liver.

For purposes of comparison I will state here briefly the classification of supernatural beings of the Yakut, so far as it is known from my own investigations and from those of other authors.

The religious system of the Yakut is well developed. The class of creative and benevolent deities are called creators (ayi'). They live in the sky, on its eastern side. The majority of them have special names and functions. The Supreme Being and the chief of the benevolent deities is called Lord-Bright-Creator (Aγï'-Uru'ß-Toyo'n). He also personifies the sun. The Chukchee idea of va'ırgin[3] apparently corresponds to the Yakut ayi'.

Abasy' (*pl.* abasyla'r) is a word which indicates everything evil and harmful in nature[4] and spirits hostile to men. Abasyla'r are divided into "upper," living in heaven, occupying its western part, and having Great Master or Great-Lord (Uju'-Toyo'n) as their chief; "middle," living in the "middle place" (orto'-doidu'), that is, on earth; and "lower," inhabiting the lower (allarï'-doidu'), subterranean world.

Iççi' ("owner") corresponds to the Eskimo inua; but not all objects have iççi', only the more insignificant ones. They are rather malevolent than benevolent by nature, and approach closer the abasy' than ayi'.

Tañara' is a word which at present indicates heaven, the Christian God, and images of the saints of the Greek-Catholic Church (icons); but formerly,

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[1] Boas, Bella Coola Indians, pp. 32, 36.
[2] See p. 24.
[3] Id., Bella Coola Indians, p. 236.
[4] See Pekarsky, p. 3.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

776 171 before the Yakut had embraced Christianity, it was applied to household guardians and charms.

The Yakut shamans are divided into kind shamans (ayï'-oyuna') and evil-minded ones (abasy'-oyuna'); and their guardian spirits are accordingly either creative deities or evil spirits. Owing to the decline of professional shamanism among the Koryak, this division is not marked, but it does exist among the Chukchee.

824 773 Among the objects believed by the Koryak to be endowed with particular power is fly-agaric (wā'paq, *Agaricus muscarius*). The method of gathering and the use made of this poisonous fungus will be described later on. It may suffice here to point out the mythologic concept of the Koryak regarding fly-agaric. Once, so the Koryak relate, Big-Raven had caught a whale, and could not send it to its home in the sea. He was unable to lift the grass bag containing travelling-provisions for the whale.[1] Big-Raven applied to Existence (Vahr'ynin) to help him. The deity said to him, "Go to a level place near the sea: there thou wilt find white soft stalks with spotted hats. These are the spirits wā'paq. Eat some of them, and they will help thee." Big-Raven went. Then the Supreme Being spat upon the earth, and out of his saliva the agaric appeared. Big-Raven found the fungus, ate of it, and began to feel gay. He started to dance. The Fly-Agaric said to him, "How is it that thou, being such a strong man, canst not lift the bag?" — "That is right," said Big-Raven. "I am a strong man. I shall go and lift the travelling-bag." He went, lifted the bag at once, and sent the whale home. Then the Agaric showed him how the whale was going out to sea, and how he would return to his comrades. Then Big-Raven said, "Let the Agaric remain on earth, and let my children see what it will show them."

The idea of the Koryak is, that a person drugged with agaric fungi does what the spirits residing in them (wā'paq) tell him to do. "Here I am, lying here and feeling so sad," said old Euwinpet from Paren to me; "but, should I eat some agaric, I should get up and commence to talk and dance. There is an old man with white hair. If he should eat some agaric, and if he were then told by it, 'You have just been born,' the old man would at once begin to cry like a new-born baby. Or, if the Agaric should say to a man, 'You will melt away soon,' then the man would see his legs, arms, and body melt away, and he would say, 'Oh! why have I eaten of the agaric? Now I am gone!' Or, should the Agaric say, 'Go to The-One-on-High,' the man would go to The-One-on-High. The latter would put him on the palm of his hand, and twist him like a thread, so that his bones would crack, and the entire world would twirl around. 'Oh, I am dead!' that man would say. 'Why have I eaten the agaric?' But when he came to, he would eat it again, because sometimes it is pleasant and cheerful. Besides, the Agaric would tell every

[1] See pp. 75, 76.

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KAMCHADAL RY3
CHUKCHEE RY2
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773 171 177 It is important to point out here some peculiarities of the present Kamchadal myths as compared with those related by Steller, and with the Koryak myths. In the myths collected by Mr. Bogoras, adventures are ascribed to Kutq and to members of his family, which, among the Koryak, are told about kalau.[1] For instance, in one tale[2] Miti′ cuts off her nose and lips, and catches the mice which are in her light; but the Fox sets the mice free, and finally kills Miti′ by throwing her down a rock. In Koryak tales[3] all this is told with reference to a kala-woman. I am inclined to attribute this divergence to the effect of Russian influence. The Kamchadal adopted Christianity long ago, and in a certain sense they are devout Christians, while the Russian priests constantly try to persuade the natives of Siberia who have been converted to Christianity that their former gods are devils and evil spirits. Thus, the Yukaghir of the upper Kolyma, in my presence, called their ancient guardian-idol, which was hanging in the woods, "Satan;" and the scaffold graves of their ancestors, and those above ground, which they used to worship, the Russianized Yukaghir of the Lower Kolyma now call "the graves of the perished (могилы пропащихъ)," an expression which is otherwise applied to animals only; and they remained quite indifferent when I proceeded to open those graves.[4]

KK C 773 776 171 Comparison with Chukchee Mythology. — The relation of the Koryak folk-lore to that of the Chukchee is somewhat different from its relation to the Kamchadal folk-lore. As may be seen from the publications of Mr. Bogoras,[5] the influence of the Eskimo myths upon Chukchee folk-lore was greater than that upon Koryak folk-lore; and the cycle of raven myths is therefore less preponderant than that of the Koryak. Big-Raven and Raven-Man of the Koryak are merged into one person named Ku′rkil (Raven); and the Creator of the Koryak myths, identified among the Koryak with Big-Raven, appears among the Chukchee (with the exception of the passages enumerated before)[6] as a being independent of Ku′rkil, but the same as the Supreme Being. From this we may draw the conclusion that the raven of the Chukchee, owing, perhaps, to the effect of their contact with the Eskimo, has lost its place as the ancestor of the tribe, and remains merely a hero of the animal epos. On the other hand, the Chukchee have retained more cosmogonic tales about the raven than the Koryak, which, however, might be explained by the fact that Koryak folk-lore is on the decline. Incidents of maritime life, which are very prominent in the Koryak myths, are even more prevalent in those of the Chukchee, where they assume a coloring of Eskimo life.

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[1] Tales 32, 56, 79, 112 (pp. 181, 212, 246, 402).
[2] Tale 131 (p. 331).
[3] Tales 32, 56 (pp. 181, 212).
[4] It must be noted here that in one Koryak tale of Kamenskoye (Tale 108, p. 295), Big-Raven's son, Ememqut, appears as a cannibal in the same manner as the monster gormandizer of Tale 112, p. 302. This may also be ascribed to Russian influence.
[5] Chukchee Materials, Introductory; Anthropologist, pp. 682, 683.
[6] See p. 17.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY 2

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The ancestors of the Maritime Chukchee[1] are said to have been created out of seal-bones. Sea-monsters in the form of a white bear, a whale shaman, and cannibals from beyond the sea, figure very often as heroes of their tales. A skin boat moving as swiftly as the flight of birds, and a canoe which crosses the sea of its own accord, constitute favorite topics of those tales. Some of the Chukchee tales not only contain well-known Eskimo episodes, but are identical in all details with Eskimo traditions. There are also some passages which are similar to the Sedna myths. Fish stories are almost absent. In the Chukchee tales the Reindeer people are more frequently contrasted with the Maritime people, and it might be concluded from this that the beginning of reindeer-breeding among the Chukchee belongs to a later period than among the Koryak. In the Chukchee traditions telling of their struggles with neighboring tribes, the Koryak are represented as a Reindeer tribe.

Among the Chukchee we find one class of traditions which contain very little of the fantastic element. These tell of their struggles with various hostile tribes. Other groups of tales relate to the creation of the world, to the kelet, and to animals. Among the Koryak, tales of all these classes — such as those of struggles with hostile tribes and of the creation of the world — are either little developed, or appear only as incidents in the myths concerning Big-Raven. Thus, among the number of tales recorded here, there are only two the subject of which is a fight between Big-Raven and the Chukchee.[2]

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The fragmentary and disjointed character of the Koryak tales here presented cannot be explained alone by the fact that the tales about Big-Raven have absorbed all other kinds of tales, but also by the fact, already mentioned, that the Koryak myths are in a period of decline. At present there are no more story-tellers who are ready to present the current episodes in interesting combinations, and who weld the mythological stories into long tales. The best proof of this is the fact that the art of story-telling has now passed over entirely to the women, while, until quite recently, the men were the best story-tellers. With a few exceptions, almost all the tales collected in this book were told by women. The woman who told me the unfinished tale, No. 9 (p. 142) said that she heard it from an old man who died fifteen years ago. She went one morning into a neighbor's tent, and found there the old story-teller, who began to tell a tale. She listened for a while, and then returned home, where she had work to do. Toward evening she went back to her neighbor's, and found the old man still telling the same tale that he commenced in the morning. The fragment that she related to me constitutes only the beginning of the tale. It is likely that the Koryak woman story about the story-teller is somewhat exaggerated; but nevertheless it gives an idea of how

[1] When the earth was created, there were two separate Chukchee countries, — that of the Maritime, and that of the Reindeer people (Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. ix).

[2] Tales 6, 26 (pp. 136, 170).

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Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

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Images of ancestor spirits:
1—having "descendants"; 2—one without living "descendants."

To placate the nin'vits, the Koryaks sacrificed to them. Thus, a hunter passing by a place considered to be inhabited by a nin'vit' had to make a sacrifice of a pinch of tobacco or several cartridges. The places inhabited by nin'vit's were very numerous; they were cliffs of unusual formation, hot springs or waterfalls, places where a corpse had been burned or a hunter perished, the ruins of a dwelling, abandoned after the death of one of its inhabitants, and so forth. Koryak ideas about the dead were ambivalent. They held that after death a person became a nin'vit', that is, a harmful, hostile being. At the same time, there was the notion of ancestors who lived somewhere underground or in the sky and helped their descendants, sending them success in the hunt, protecting their herds, etc. Ancestor images were made of wood. They were small, crudely carved wooden figures (kalak), representing a sitting or, more rarely, a standing person, with a flat face, without a nose, with two hollows in the place of eyes and a rather large hollow to indicate the mouth. During family celebrations the mouth-hole was filled with fat or fat meat. Every family had whole bundles of kalaks; every Koryak had his own kalak—his personal guardian.

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The Koryaks believed that the shaman had power over nin'vit's. The shaman communicated with nin'vit's in total darkness; the entrance to the dwelling was carefully closed, the smoke vent was stopped up with a bundle of grass, the hearth fire was put out. The shaman struck his tambourine, cried out fragmentary words and phrases, danced and sang.

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The shaman's actions were usually stimulated by intoxication from the fly-agaric eaten beforehand. When he tired, the shaman fell asleep. The Koryaks believed that the "prophetic fly-agaric" led him into the next world and arranged meetings with dead kinsmen, from whom the shaman obtained the necessary instructions. On awakening from his long sleep, the shaman related his visions to the people around him.

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The Koryak shaman did not have any special dress. He performed his rituals in the usual clothing, which differed from the rest only in the large number of tags and disks of skin or beads attached to it. Some shamans made slight changes in their dress during the ritual performance, such as wearing a man's boot on one foot, and a woman's on the other. The tambourine was narrow-rimmed.

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In addition to professional shamanism, the Koryaks also practiced family shamanism, predominantly in the hands of women. This was closely bound to the cult of the family hearth. Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination. For this purpose, a stone in a leather pouch was suspended from a small tripod. The eldest member of the family

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23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

kotſkoi have great herds, and yet feed for the moſt part upon ſea animals. The *Koreki* would be miſerable if they wanted the rein-deer: for they know no way of keeping themſelves alive, as they do not underſtand how to catch fiſh; and if they did, could not ſoon provide themſelves with boats, nets, or dogs: ſo that the poorer ſort are employed by the richer in feeding their deer, for which they receive meat and cloaths; and if they have any ſmall ſtock of their own, they are allowed to feed them with their maſter's cattle.

The rein-deer *Koreki* exchange their deer and deer-ſkins with the neighbouring people for the very fineſt furrs, of which they have always a large ſtock by them.

The religion of the *Koreki* is more abſurd than that of the *Kamtſchadales*, at leaſt that little chief, of whom I had my information, ſeemed to have ſcarce any idea of a God; they ſeem more to reſpect evil ſpirits, which, according to their opinion, inhabit the rivers and woods: this reſpect ſeems to be owing to their fear. The ſettled *Koreki* acknowledge for their God, the *Kuta* of the *Kamtſchadales*. They have no fixt time of worſhip or offering ſacrifices; but, whenever they pleaſe, they kill either a rein-deer or a dog, which they fix upon a ſtake, turning its face towards the eaſt, leaving only the deer's head and tongue upon the ſtake. They themſelves do not know to whom they make theſe ſacrifices, and only uſe theſe words, *Vio coing yack ne la lu, ban be vau*; that is, This to you, and may you ſend us ſomething that is good. The time of ſacrificing is when they are going to paſs any river or waſte, which they think the devils inhabit; then they kill one of their deer, and eating the fleſh, they faſten the bones of the head upon a pole, which they fix oppoſite to the habitation of the ſpirits. When the *Koreki* are afraid of any infectious diſtemper, they kill a dog, and winding the guts upon two poles, they paſs between them.

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23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

756 During their ſacrifices their *ſhamans* or ſorcerers beat a little
785 drum like that uſed by the *Jakutſki*, and the neighbouring nations. Some of the *Shamans* are reckoned phyſicians, and are thought, by beating upon the drum, to drive away diſtempers. In the year 1739 I had an opportunity of ſeeing, at the lower *Kamtſchatkoi* fort, the moſt famous *Shaman Carimlacha*, who was not only of great reputation among theſe wild people, but was alſo reſpected by our Coſſacks, for the many extraordinary feats that he performed; particularly that of ſtabbing his belly with a knife, and letting a great quantity of blood run out, which he drank: however this he performed in ſuch an awkward manner, that any one, who was not blinded by ſuperſtition, might eaſily diſcover the trick. At firſt, ſitting upon his knees, and beating ſome time upon his drum, he ſtruck his knife into his belly, and then, from below his furred coat, he drew out a handful of blood, which he eat, licking his fingers. I could not help laughing at the ſimplicity of the trick, which the pooreſt player of legerdemain would have been aſhamed of. One might ſee him ſlip the knife down below his furr, and that he ſqueezed the blood out of a bladder which he had in his boſom. After all this conjuration he thought ſtill to ſurpriſe us more by ſhewing us his belly all bloody, pretending to have cured the wound which he
756 had not made. He told us, that the evil ſpirits appeared to him
776 in different forms, and came from different places; ſome came
787 from the ſea, others out of the burning mountains; ſome of them were very large, and ſome very ſmall; ſome had no hands, and ſome were half burned; the ſpirits of the ſea were much finer dreſſed than the others, and appeared to him as it were in a dream, and at ſuch a time they tormented him ſo much, that he was almoſt out of his ſenſes.

755 When the ſorcerers pretend to cure any diſtemper by their
782 conjurations, ſometimes they order a dog to be killed, at other times